

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 128300 TOSEC 020252

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ORIGIN NODS-00

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DRAFTED BY EB:TOENDERS:DA

APPROVED BY EB:TOENDERS

S/S-JMEALUM

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TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

CONFIDENTIAL STATE 128300 TOSEC 020252

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ENRG

SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO THE SHAH FROM THE SECRETARY

ACTION MEMORANDUM (S/S 7511129)

REF: SECTO 2021, TEHRAN 5010

FOR SECRETARY FROM ENDERS

1. AS EXPECTED, THE SHAH'S RESPONSE TO YOU ZEROED IN ON THE  
LACK OF A GENERAL CONFERENCE IN OUR SCHEME FOR CARRYING THE  
DIALOGUE FORWARD.

RECOMMENDATION: IN ORDER TO COUNTER THIS CRITICISM RIGHT  
AWAY, SUGGEST YOU SEND THE FOLLOWING LETTER TO THE SHAH.

APPROVE ..... DISAPPROVE .....

2. BEGIN TEXT:  
YOUR IMPERIAL MAJESTY:

AMBASSADOR HELMS FORWARDED TO ME YOUR LETTER OF MAY 29. IT  
GIVES ME MUCH PLEASURE TO SEE THAT THE THINKING OF OUR TWO  
GOVERNMENTS HAS PROGRESSED ALONG VERY MUCH THE SAME LINES.  
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LIKE YOU, I BELIEVE THAT WHATEVER THE ARRANGEMENTS, IT

WILL BE NECESSARY FOR ALL CONCERNED TO APPROACH THE PROBLEMS IN A SPIRIT OF COOPERATION AND CONCILIATION, WITH A VIEW TOWARDS ARRIVING AT JUST AND EQUITABLE SOLUTIONS. WITHOUT THAT, NO PROCEDURES THAT WE DECIDE CAN SUCCEED.

IN THIS REGARD, YOU NOTE THAT THERE MAY BE OBJECTIONS TO THE PREPARATORY MEETING SELECTING PARTICIPANTS FOR THE COMMISSIONS OR WORKING GROUPS, WHICH WE BOTH THINK MUST BE A LIMITED SIZE IN ORDER TO BE EFFECTIVE. I THINK IT INEVITABLE THAT ANY SYSTEM OF LIMITED MEMBERSHIP RAISE OBJECTIONS BY THOSE WHO DO NOT PARTICIPATE IN IT. IT IS NOT OBVIOUS TO ME THAT WE COULD LESSEN THOSE OBJECTIONS BY CONSTITUTING A FURTHER LIMITED MEMBERSHIP GROUP, ONE IN WHICH PARTICIPATION WOULD NOT BE GOVERNED BY AN OBJECTIVE CRITERION, BUT BY SOME AD HOC PROCESS OF CHOICE.

THE VERY PURPOSE, YOUR IMPERIAL MAJESTY, OF THE USE OF OBJECTIVE CRITERIA WOULD BE TO MAKE THE CHOICE OF PARTICIPATION POSSIBLE AND EASY. IF WE PUT DECISION ON SUCH CRITERIA INTO A LARGER COMMITTEE, SAY OF 26 OR 27 RATHER THAN OF THE PRESENT 10, WE BUILD IN A SUBSTANTIAL AND POTENTIALLY DEMORALIZING DELAY, WITHOUT MAKING THE PARTICIPATION IN THIS DECISION VERY MUCH LARGER. THERE WOULD THERE BE NO EFFECTIVE ANSWERS TO THE SUGGESTION THAT A UNIVERSAL CONFERENCE SHOULD DO THE SELECTING. THAT, AS WE BOTH KNOW, WOULD BE A RECIPE FOR DELAY AND FRUSTRATION.

ANOTHER WAY TO OBTAIN THE OBJECTIVE YOU SEEK WOULD BE TO PROVIDE FOR THE COMMISSIONS TO REPORT TO A UNIVERSAL BODY, SUCH AS THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THIS WOULD PROVIDE FOR CONSIDERATION AND CONCLUSION BY THE WHOLE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, AND NOT JUST BE A SMALL GROUP.

AS WE AGREED, MESSRS. YEGANEH AND ROBINSON SHOULD DISCUSS THIS IN SOME DETAIL. I'M ASKING MR. ROBINSON TO GO TO TEHRAN AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE POINT. HE WILL BE IN TOUCH DIRECTLY WITH MR. YEGANEH.

IF WE ACT QUICKLY TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A PROCEDURE OF  
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WORK, YOUR IMPERIAL MAJESTY, I AM CONVINCED THAT THE SOLUTIONS OF MANY OF THE MOST SERIOUS DILEMMAS IN A RELATIONSHIP OF OIL PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS AND DEVELOPING AND INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES AS A WHOLE CAN BE FOUND.

WITH WARM REGARDS,

HENRY A. KISSINGER END TEXT.

NOTE: THIS MEMORANDUM HAS NOT BEEN CLEARED BY E OR NEA. INGERSOLL

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NNN

## Message Attributes

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